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The work of the Peace Committee of the North Carolina Friends' Yearly Meeting has been unusually successful the past year. The chairman of the committee, Prof. S. F. Blair, a very able and devoted worker, has given addresses in a large number of high schools, academies, colleges, churches and leading cities of the State. The committee took the initiative in organizing the North Carolina Peace Society, which was completed at Wilmington in May last, and of which Mr. Blair is the secretary. Since the State Society was organized a number of local societies have been formed, in Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, Salisbury, Asheville and other places.

In his Fourth of July address at the Southern Summer School at Knoxville, ex-Senator Carmack said:

"With the rapid binding together of the nations in commercial and industrial bonds, and with the growth of those human sentiments that have all along been the soul of human progress, conflicts will cease between civilized powers. This is preëminently the industrial age. If we inquire into the cause of the vast transformation that is overtaking the civilization of the world, we shall find its first cause undoubtedly in the softening and uplifting power of the Christian religion, and its most powerful secondary cause in the progress of industrial science. . . . Industrialism is opposed to war. It has evils peculiar to itself, but the ways of war are not of them. Whatever men may say, war is the nursery of every vice and of every crime. It hushes the voice of mercy or steels the heart against its cry. It breeds despotism in government and a slavish spirit among the people. The passion for war and the passion for liberty cannot reign in the same breast."

In a mass meeting of students held at The Hague, July 27, Mr. George Fulk, who carried to the Hague Conference the Memorial from students of twenty-three American universities and colleges, gave an account of the organization and growth of the peace movement among college students in the United States. He urged that as far as possible the similar student-organizations in Europe should be federated with those in America, that some organ of intercommunication between them should be established. He expressed his belief that "the student bodies of the world, rightly united and properly guided, might become the greatest factor in the world in the promotion of international conciliation and the abolition of warfare." The future leaders of nations were now enrolled, he said, in the ranks of the students, and through these the newer ideals of the relations of nations must be carried to realization. There is a good deal in these statements, and no finer work can be done toward bringing about the federation and peace of the world than that which Mr. Fulk and his student fellow-laborers are performing.

The students' peace party in Budapest, Hungary, has grown rapidly and now numbers several thousand men. The members of the new party refuse to use arms or perform military service. On September 27, proclamations headed "Peace for the World," "Down with Militarism," were scattered broadcast over the city.

The place of holding the next International Peace Congress is now under discussion. Vienna, Liverpool and London have all been suggested. It will meet at Stockholm in 1909.

## Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Peace Congress.

### RECEPTIONS AND PUBLIC MEETINGS.

#### THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

The Sixteenth International Peace Congress was held at Munich, Bavaria, from September 9 to 14. Next in importance to the Hague Conference, and existing in part to suggest work for that body or to promote its most enlightened efforts, this Congress brings together a remarkable assemblage of non-official but earnest and well-informed leaders in the movement for world unity and peace. From the point of view of animated and fruitful discussion this session was declared to be one of the most successful ever held. Nearly four hundred delegates representing organizations devoted to peace and arbitration attended it. Of these the larger proportion were naturally from the continent of Europe, notably from Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, the Scandinavian countries and Russia; but America had twenty-one delegates, and England about the same number, while Japan and China were each represented.

Among the leading workers who were present were Frederic Passy, now more than eighty-five years of age, and the Baroness von Suttner, who shared equally with him the homage enthusiastically offered by the younger generation to those who have distinguished themselves in the cause; Professor Stein and Dr. Gobat of Switzerland, the latter the secretary of the Interparliamentary Union; Senator La Fontaine of Belgium, now president of the Committee of the Berne Peace Bureau; Felix Moscheles, Joseph G. Alexander, Dr. G. B. Clark, Alderman Snape, J. F. Green, F. Fisher Unwin, Miss Peckover and Rev. Walter Walsh of the British delegation; M. Arnaud, Gaston Moch, Professor Richet, Professor Ruyssen and Dr. Dumas of France; Signor Moneta and Prince Cassano of Italy; and Alfred H. Fried of Vienna. The American delegation included Edwin Ginn, Mr. and Mrs. Edwin D. Mead, Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood and Miss Trueblood, D. G. Crandon, Miss Anna B. Eckstein and J. L. Tryon of Boston, Rev. Bradley Gilman of Canton, Mass., Prof. Samuel T. Dutton, secretary of the New York Peace Society, Rev. Frederick Lynch, Hayne Davis, and Miss Alice Jones of New York, ex-President Scovel of Wooster College, Ohio, Joseph Shippen, Esq., of Seattle, Wash., and George Fulk of Cerro Gordo, Ill. Professor Fullerton of the University of Pennsylvania and Professor Mills of Vassar College happened to be spending the year in Munich and affiliated with the delegation.

A striking feature of the Congress, and one that in after results promises well for the cause, was the presence at the press table of a large group of mature and intelligent newspaper correspondents from different European cities. Far from being flippant or unsympathetic, as was the case with several of the young writers who attended our New York Congress, and made a burlesque of it, these men, with a coöperative spirit and grasp of the situation, wrote up the news of the convention in a way calculated to win for it the respect of their readers. Some of these men participated in the discussions with quite as much interest and had as much influence on the voting as the lawyers or the educators, who as a class

made themselves distinctly felt. The proprietors of the Munich *Neueste Nachrichten* furnished copies of their paper free every morning to the members as they came to their work.

#### ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CONGRESS.

The arrangements for the Congress were in the hands of a local committee, of which Dr. Heinrich Harburger, a professor in the University of Munich, was chairman. Professor Harburger was efficiently assisted by Mrs. Harburger, Prof. Ludwig Quidde, of the Bavarian Parliament, and Mrs. Quidde, all of whom felt the full weight of their responsibility and did everything within their power for the comfort and convenience of their guests. At the Hotel of the Four Seasons, where the plenary sessions of the Congress were held, this committee had a well-organized staff of coworkers, whose accommodating spirit and cordial manner made every delegate feel at home. At the headquarters were registration desks, a post-office, writing tables with special stationery and a booth for literature. On the Saturday preceding the Congress a reception committee had an office in the railway station. The station was decorated for the occasion with the flags of all nations.

The municipality and the Bavarian government, which has its capital in Munich, both coöperated in every way possible with the committee in showing hospitality. The museums, art galleries, collections, exhibitions, and several public buildings were thrown open to the visitors. Invitations were given to inspect some of the model schools. Delegates were furnished with cards of identification and provided with badges, which secured consideration for them everywhere, even in the street-cars and the stores. The badges consisted of a special design in metal, on which were printed the Towers of the Church of Our Lady and the Child-Monk of Munich, with the words "XVI Weltfriedens Kongress, München, September, 1907."

A booklet, containing a full program of the Congress, with directions to the delegates, was carefully prepared in German, French and English, but in order to impress the attractions of Munich upon the visitors, possibly with the hope that some of them might remain there as permanent residents, the committee presented them with a second booklet, which set forth the beauties and advantages of the city. The perfect weather, together with the magnificence of the place, which was filled to overflowing with tourists and with people who had come to enjoy the Wagner Opera season, made the week memorable to every one who was there.

A quiet but hospitable reception was given by Professor and Mrs. Quidde at their home on Sunday evening, the 8th, which was attended by nearly all the delegates who were then in town, but the formal reception to the Congress was given by the municipality in the old City Hall on Monday, at 10.30 A. M. There was a large attendance, representing the various languages, and although some of the delegates had difficulty in understanding what was said, the welcome seemed most hearty and respectful. Speeches were made by Professor Harburger, Mayor von Brunner of Munich, and by State Councillor von Böhm of the Bavarian government. Eminent public officials occupied the platform with some of the representative leaders of the peace movement.

#### ADDRESSES OF WELCOME.

Dr. Harburger, in his opening address, said :

"In our time of crass realism, of the constant pursuit of possible personal advantages and wealth, it is a rare pleasure to be able to greet a gathering which makes it its purpose to strive for the realization of a higher ideal, in spite of many opposing difficulties, which remains true to its principles, notwithstanding many prejudices which stand in the way of its work. The peace movement is not infrequently viewed with a certain amount of suspicion. One often hears the opinion expressed that it is an idle dream to suppose that the lessening of the number of wars is possible to such an extent that the outbreak of hostilities would be one of the rarest occurrences and a condition of undisturbed peace become the rule among civilized peoples. But who can with any justification consider anything wholly impossible in an age which has succeeded, for the intercommunication of men, in stripping the widest distances of their separating power, and which is on the point of passing through the air itself on dirigible airships. Ten years ago — and here I am on the proper territory of the peace movement — ten years ago would it not have been declared unthinkable that a court could be created by the common action of the civilized states whose mission it would be to settle, in a regular way, by arbitration, controversies which were formerly adjusted by force of arms? And yet in the year 1899 twenty-six powers gave their consent to such an institution, and at the present moment the representatives of no less than forty-seven states, practically the entire civilized world, are engaged in the effort to make the appeal to this court obligatory in a great number of cases.

"Radical changes in the life of peoples require, in the nature of the case, a long and slow development if they are to have an extended existence. The fear which is entertained, on patriotic grounds, that in consequence of the peace movement the honor and independence of the fatherland might often be sacrificed to the maintenance of peace is hardly worthy of the stress with which it is often brought forward. A distinguished member of our honored ruling Bavarian family a little while ago declared, in a manner that stirred all minds, that for a nation in the full possession of its power only a "peace with honor" was possible. That such a view may also be consistent with the fundamental principle of the peace movement no less a personage than the Nestor of the movement, the highly-honored Frederic Passy, whom it is the highest pleasure of us all to greet in this hall to-day, has given the most striking proof. In his inspired address at the Peace Congress last year at Milan, which received the heartiest applause, he declared that between a narrow-minded patriotism and an excessive universalism lies a third course, that of true love for the fatherland, which on the one hand knows how to defend its honor and independence and yet at the same time seeks to be just toward the interests of the rest of mankind and the demands of universal humanity. On this basis may it be granted to the Sixteenth Peace Congress to see a rich harvest spring from the seed to the sowing of which it now addresses itself."

On behalf of the Bavarian State government, State

Councillor von Böhm then welcomed the Congress in the following words :

"The Bavarian State government takes great satisfaction in greeting the Peace Congress on German soil and in the capital of Bavaria, Munich, whose walls indeed enclose many a memorial of famous deeds of war, but whose attainments in so many fields of culture only peace has made possible. That we all love peace does not indeed need to be especially declared. It is constantly pressing itself upon the consciousness of even her adversaries that the German empire and its members are ready for peace, and that even those German institutions which wear the threatening mask of the war-god have in view no other purpose than the maintenance of peace. Therefore we bring to your deliberations our sincere sympathies. It is a matter of satisfaction that while at The Hague the official representatives of the governments are dealing with the difficult questions around the green table, these same questions can be treated here in wider circles and have light thrown upon them, and so every opportunity is given to promote with fruitful ideas the great work. The union of adherents from different nations for a common purpose is indeed in itself a work of peace. It must have as a natural result the clearing away of misunderstandings, the lessening of differences, and the bringing of strangers to know and to learn to esteem and love each other, instead of treating each other as enemies, as in ancient times. May a good spirit preside over your deliberations. May it be granted to you, ladies and gentlemen, to contribute in a harmonious way toward the doing away with the natural divisions between men through the progress of enlightenment and wisdom, and thus toward bringing humanity ever nearer to the ideal of perpetual peace, of world peace, which has been so long striven for."

In behalf of the city of Munich, Dr. von Brunner, the Burgomaster, greeted the delegates with these words :

"The greatest step of progress of civilized humanity, according to the account that has come down to us, was proclaimed in the words: 'On earth, peace to men.' And a spiritual giant among the thinkers of all the ages, on whose shoulders, consciously or unconsciously, the philosophical development of our time is building itself up, who laid the still unshaken foundations of philosophy as the science of the principles of all being and all events, the great sage of Königsberg, Immanuel Kant, more than a hundred years ago published his philosophical tractate, 'Eternal Peace.' In this he uttered these golden words: 'Even if the fulfillment of the ideal of eternal peace should always remain only a pious wish, we should nevertheless not go wrong in accepting the maxim, to work incessantly for it, for that is our duty.'"

"That the realization of this ideal corresponds to the wishes of all peoples, is self-evident. But that the governments also are unable to hold aloof from these aspirations is sufficiently proved by the Conference now going on at The Hague, even though this Conference is yet far from realizing the ideal, is only adding small stones to the future building, and its name signifies little more than a draft on the future. But even this is cause for felicitation."

"And so I desire that blessing may rest upon your efforts and good results follow them. May your deliberations this year mark another step forward in your propaganda, and secure for your ideals new adherents."

On behalf of the delegates, Mr. Passy made the reply to the addresses of welcome. This venerable worker spoke like a Moses who could see the promised land afar off, although he might not be spared to set his feet on it. His speech contrasted the present progress of the peace movement with the difficulties that had surrounded it in the past. Once the advocates of peace had been told they should not succeed, but they had kept true to their motto, which was "Strive, strive, strive," and now they see signs of success. Formerly the pacifists were applauded only by the victims of war, to whom they acted as consolers, but now they have a universal interest and are welcomed by the governments. They teach a new patriotism, that it is not our duty to hate other nations, but to promote love between them. We should organize into one great country in the fellowship of peace. Instead of seeing each other's faults, we should appropriate each other's best. But civilization is already entering upon a better way. All nations are testifying to a desire for it, and most significant is the fact that here on this platform French and German delegates are working together for peace, peace, everlasting peace! [Great applause.]

MESSAGES TO THE EMPEROR AND THE PRINCE REGENT.

Before the meeting closed a message of greeting was sent to the Prince Regent of Bavaria, which was later kindly acknowledged by him, and one to the German Emperor.

The message to Emperor William was as follows :

"To His Majesty, the German Emperor: The Sixteenth World's Congress of the Peace Societies, which has just opened in Munich, offers your Imperial Majesty its most respectful homage and its sincerest thanks for the powerful coöperation of your Majesty's representatives in the Hague Conference. May the Conference result in greatly furthering the cause of peace."

The reply to this despatch, which was read on Wednesday evening, at the banquet given by the municipality, was signed by Secretary of State Tschirschky, and was as follows :

"His Majesty, the Emperor, has commanded me to return to the International Peace Congress his best thanks for its telegram of homage."

The Congress felt from the first that no time could be lost in communicating its sentiments to the Hague Conference, which was then in session, but which was likely at any moment to finish its work and adjourn. Accordingly the following telegram was prepared and accepted by the meeting :

"To the President of the Peace Conference at The Hague: The Peace Congress cannot let its opening session pass without sending to the governments represented at The Hague the wish that they may put forth every effort to secure a real and tangible result that will further develop the reign of international law and thus better assure the peace of the world. The Congress feels assured that in making this request it is expressing the wish of all classes of people and the deepest longing of humanity."

PUBLIC RECEPTION.

Monday evening, from nine o'clock until midnight, was given up to a public reception. This meeting was held in the Hofbräuhaus, or Hall of the Royal Bavarian Brewery, a place which is decorated with the emblems of knighthood, and already made famous for its historic

gatherings. The delegates were invited to join several hundred ladies and gentlemen of Munich who sat at tables which were filled with refreshments, including *steins* of the renowned beer, which is made under government patronage and is supposed to be pure and harmless. This was a characteristic German festal occasion. It was intended to be a cheerful and hearty greeting to the guests from foreign lands, and though its uniqueness surprised the American delegates, who were unused to German customs, everything was carried out in the most perfect order. The Philharmonic Orchestra furnished music and played national airs. The principal address of welcome was by Prof. Quidde, who addressed the delegates in German, French, English and Italian successively, to the delight of the visitors. They applauded him, not only for his fraternal sentiments, but for his extraordinary proficiency in language. No other man made a like impression in the Congress. A clever little play, entitled "The Peace Idyl," the scene of which was laid in the mountains, and the plot of which was related to the Peace Congress, was given in an interval between speeches.

#### THE COMMISSIONS AND THE BERNE PEACE BUREAU.

Tuesday morning was occupied with the sittings of the Berne Bureau and of the three commissions of the Congress. These commissions were formed several years ago, at the suggestion of Secretary Trueblood, for the preliminary consideration and more deliberate discussion of important business to come before the plenary sessions. Their work is put into the form of resolutions and recommendations: without their approval it is not customary to bring a matter before the Congress. The American members of these commissions were, for A, on Actualities, Mr. Mead and Professor Fullerton; B, on Legal Aspects, Dr. Trueblood and Mr. Shippen; C, on Propaganda, Mrs. Mead and Miss Jones. The American members of the Berne Bureau are Dr. Trueblood, Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, Mr. Mead and Professor Dutton, the last two of whom were added this year.

The work of these committees kept their members busy before and between sessions. All meetings of the commissions were open to any delegates who chose to attend them, whether they came simply to listen or to propose resolutions; but, while each commission had its own important work to do, Commission C, which took up educational subjects, excited the most popular interest and therefore had the largest outside attendance. Delegates who were not members of it sat with it for hours, making suggestions and helping it to frame acceptable resolutions on the topics brought before it. As each speaker, in order to be understood by everybody, had to have his ideas presented in English, French and German, its sessions were a considerable strain upon those who were present, but were very helpful in that they enabled the members to become well acquainted with each other and to appreciate one another's national characteristics.

#### FIRST BUSINESS SESSION.

The first plenary session of the Congress opened in the Concert Hall of the Hotel of the Four Seasons at three o'clock. The galleries of the hall were decorated with the flags of many nations, including the welcome Stars and Stripes. A portrait of Elie Ducommun, the late secretary of the International Peace Bureau at Berne,

and editor of the *Correspondance Bimensuelle*, hung above the platform.

Professor Quidde, who served as president, although he was already absorbed in attending to numberless details of management in the executive committee, made a patient, clear-sighted chairman, who, while willing to listen to a full discussion of the subjects presented, was prompt to bring debates to a close whenever a vote was demanded by the delegates. He also used effectively, in his difficult task, his wide knowledge of the languages. Baron de Neufville acted as secretary. Mr. Moch, Professor Richet, Professor Harburger and Mr. Adolph Smith, an English journalist, with the occasional help of the chairman, translated the speeches into the three languages that were used. The English and American members were especially favored in having the services of Mr. Smith, a man of extraordinary gifts as an interpreter of French into English; an interpreter, rather than a translator, who put life and eloquence into his renderings, at times improving on the original text.

Professor Quidde, in his opening remarks, referred appreciatively to the losses sustained by the peace movement in the deaths of Mr. Ducommun, Hodgson Pratt, and others less known, whose good works are remembered and will go on, although they themselves may not know the results of their courage and persistency. On motion of Professor Richet, telegrams of sympathy were sent to the families of Mr. Ducommun and Mr. Pratt.

The order of the day called for reports of the Conference at The Hague. Various opinions were expressed upon it, some of which were critical, but on the whole a current of gratitude and optimism ran through the speeches, made in whatever connection with the proceedings of the Conference.

Baron de Neufville, the first speaker, said that it was an error to suppose nothing has been done at The Hague. He compared the meeting of representatives of twenty-six nations eight years ago with that of forty-seven to-day, and made the point that the comparison marked an important stage in the world's progress. While many people deplore the fact that the Conference has given too much attention to arranging how war should be conducted, that very fact testifies to the success of our peace agitation. While so far not much had been done at the formal sessions of the Conference, its members had interchanged ideas at their social gatherings which led them to feel that something great was to be accomplished.

Mr. Moch, a former captain of French artillery, now an active worker for peace, spoke from the military point of view. He declared that the Conference would show the absolute bankruptcy of the effort to humanize war. When soldiers fight they fight to win, and will disregard the rules of war by whatever congress they may be passed. He expressed the opinion that simultaneous disarmament is impracticable at present.

Professor Heilberg, Councilor of Justice at Breslau, spoke in the interest of neutral peoples. The feeling is growing that people have a right to prevent war, not only for the sake of the nations who may be in conflict, but for the benefit of neutral nations, who also suffer from its effects.

Senator LaFontaine explained some of the difficulties which had confronted the Conference and pointed out the benefits which would come to the peace cause as the

result of them. One of these was lack of organization. The subjects which the Conference was called upon to deal with had not been prepared for discussion, but as a result of this oversight, commissions will be appointed which will continue to work after the Conference adjourns. There will, however, be no really permanent dissolution of the Conference as an institution. A standing International Council of Nations may be formed, which will continue to prepare work for coming conferences. Future meetings of the Conference will not be called by a monarch as in the past, and as a result of this change of procedure greater questions will be considered.

Mr. Arnaud reported that while arbitration had become recognized and the Hague Court secured, there was still a loophole for questions of national independence and honor to become causes of war; but a nation that thinks its honor compromised is the least fitted to judge its case; others who are outside of the controversy are the proper judges in the matter. In any event we can protest that war is no solution for international difficulties. Therefore it is important to have as permanent institutions a Court of Arbitration and a universal treaty of arbitration. He referred to the difficulties that the Conference had met with in the choice of judges for a Court, the large and small states had come into opposition through mutual distrust and jealousy, the small states wanted the right to choose a judge on equal terms with the large ones, and there had been no agreement. But in any case, the speaker insisted, we must ask that these permanent institutions be created.

Mr. Arnaud then read a letter which had been prepared in committee to be sent to the Hague Conference. Discussion of the letter prolonged the meeting of the Congress until evening. It was determined to lay it on the table until morning, when with rested energies and clearer minds the members could take proper action upon it. This letter became the subject of full and frank debate at the next session, but after being subjected to amendments in phraseology was passed by the Congress in the form in which it appears below. The changes that were made in it were chiefly from a coercive and critical to a persuasive and respectful tone, it being felt that an intelligent and august body like the Hague Conference, and one that on the whole had tried hard to do something, deserved the highest consideration of the friends of peace. This letter is the most important expression of views passed by the Congress. Besides being calculated to stimulate the minority in the Conference to act in harmony with the great majority, who wanted to accomplish positive results, it was also intended indirectly to appeal to public opinion to see to it that real progress should be made at The Hague.

#### THE DISCUSSIONS.

It will be impossible, with the limited space at our disposal, to give a detailed account of the discussions of the various resolutions which in the course of the week were considered. Only a few of the important discussions may be even referred to. The result of the deliberations appears in the appended platform of resolutions. Each of these was carefully matured in committee, and some of them were first subjected to changes either in phraseology or in general import by the Congress. An International Peace Congress, being without official authority, can take no action except in a few matters

like the Berne Bureau or the War and Peace Museum at Lucerne, which is under its control. The object of such a gathering is to bring together the different ideas entertained by members, compare notes on them, and put them into the form of an expressed wish or opinion. In other words, an International Peace Congress is an assembly which meets to give careful and rational expression of public opinion on the great questions of peace and arbitration. Its object is to influence the action of governments, and indirectly, through reports in the press and public meetings, to educate people generally in its humanitarian ideas. Every group of workers from whatever nation brings to it some new thought, and this thought is tested before it is formally offered to the world as a part of the platform of peace principles.

#### THE "ANTI-MILITARISTS."

Among the most interesting discussions that occurred probably the most animated was that relating to the "anti-militarists," who, in some European countries, resort even to violence and apparent disloyalty in opposing the demands of compulsory military service. In France and Italy, particularly, the peace workers find that their cause has been misunderstood because they have been confused with these radicals, and they believe that unless a clear distinction is made between them the peace movement will suffer in the future. It was first thought wise to bring in a resolution condemning the "anti-militarists," but after more mature deliberation it was decided not to pass judgment on them, but in effect to explain that the peace workers of the Sixteenth International Congress are not the same as these and do not believe in their violent methods. This attitude, finally adopted, was of considerable help in satisfying the English delegation, because many English peace advocates are radical anti-militarists, opposing all military service. As is well known, the Quakers everywhere may fairly be called anti-militarists, and yet they are not kindred in mind or method with the Continental radicals.

Of the men who spoke on this question, Signor Moneta of Italy showed that it was of the utmost importance to himself and his colleagues in the peace movement that some distinction should be made, and he spoke in French like an inspired orator. Mr. Moscheles, taking the opposite view of the case, made a short but telling speech, in which he showed that these very extremists, although their methods may be objectionable to us, are nevertheless aiming at the same results that we desire to see brought about. He feared that we should make a mistake should we condemn them. As several persons wished to speak upon the subject, some of them at length, and as it was necessary for each speaker to have his remarks put into the three languages, the debate threatened to be long drawn out, and it became necessary to limit the speakers to a few minutes each. When the meeting closed late in the evening, the whole matter was recommitted. The next day a satisfactory statement was produced.

A matter that took but a short time in debate, but which brought up an interesting point, was the Morocco question. Professor Ruysen was the reporter for this subject. He feared the opening up of a war with the Mohammedan world or the bringing on of a quarrel with European powers might be the result of its wrong handling, and therefore he recommended that the powers get together to consider the situation.

## LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS.

The question of limitation of armaments, whenever it came up, proved interesting, although it brought forth no difference of opinion. The attitude of the Congress was summed up in the resolution which authorizes the appointment of an international commission to study the question and report. Inasmuch as great difficulty has been found in getting a satisfactory formula for disarmament, there is hope that this commission, if appointed, may prove helpful in the solution of this perplexing problem. If it should do so, this resolution will prove to have been one of the most important ever passed by an international congress. The resolution in regard to war loans was passed without discussion.

## EDUCATIONAL WORK.

All the resolutions under the general head of education received the earnest attention of the Congress, but none of them occasioned prolonged debate. Among the new thoughts under the head of propaganda was that contained in the resolution, first offered in Commission C by Miss Alice Jones of New York, proposing that art and statuary be used to teach peace principles, and that an effort be made by the friends of peace to erect at The Hague the statue already designed by Mr. MacMonnies.

Mr. George Fulk, who represents the American college students in the peace movement, was heard with enthusiasm by the commission, as he told of the thousands of college men who have become believers in peace and arbitration and of the cordial reception which Mr. Nelidoff gave him when he laid the American students' memorial before the president of the Hague Conference. Many of the Europeans present were surprised to learn what great progress the movement had made in the universities of America and of the existence in the Old World of a large organization, which is known as "The Corda Fratres," or "Fraternal Hearts." They felt that the peace workers all over the world, and especially the Berne Bureau, must in some practical way encourage the coöperation of students in the cause, as a promising means to success in the future, and that an effort must be made hereafter to have them participate in the international congresses.

A proposition for National Councils of Peace Societies was made by Professor Dutton of New York.

## THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY PROGRAM.

A serious attempt, characterized by long discussion, various amendments, and painstaking efforts at clear statement, was made in Commission C, at the instance of Mrs. Mead, Mr. Davis and others, to induce the Congress to recommend to peace societies, as a program to be everywhere emphasized, the six definite propositions made by the Interparliamentary Union in London, in 1906, or such of them as the Hague Conference might not adopt this year, and particularly a governmental peace budget. But while all believed in general in the program of the Interparliamentary Union who were conversant with it, and some, strange to say, were not, the actual resolution which the committee brought forth not only contained too many subjects, but proposed a method of campaigning not acceptable to the majority, namely, that requiring candidates for parliament to promise to join the union; besides, few people have yet come to believe in the practicability of asking governments to set apart a peace budget. As will be seen by

reference to the platform, this resolution was referred to the next Congress.

## THE CHURCHES.

More than once, clergymen and others who are interested to have the church as a body brought into closer contact with the peace movement tried to get the matter either before a committee or the Congress, and finally, towards the close of the last session, a proposition was made that a committee be appointed to see how the churches may be brought into the movement. This effort was resisted, but finally the matter was left to such volunteers from each country as might have the project at heart to take such action as seemed best, and report later to the Congress. Among those who favored the idea of interesting the churches, and who thought their influence would prove to be an important matter, were ex-President Scovel of Wooster, Ohio, and Baron de Neufville of Frankfort. After the Congress was over, Miss Anna B. Eckstein of Boston, who has already distinguished herself for her interest in arbitration, took a paper and secured the names of several workers, who expressed themselves as willing to serve on a committee to interest the churches. These names were given to Baron de Neufville, the secretary. In all probability an effort of some kind will be made among the churches during the coming year, which will show results in the next Congress.

## MESSAGES TO THE CONGRESS

The management of the Congress, with kind forethought for the members, had every important resolution which was to be discussed printed in the three languages and distributed in the seats. The names of the speakers were usually written on the blackboard as they took their turn.

A long list of the names of friends who had sent messages was printed. Letters or telegrams, expressing either good wishes or regrets for absence, were received from the Emerson Union for Ideal Culture, Boston, the Arbitration and Peace Society, Cincinnati, the German-American National Alliance, Dr. Ernst Richard of the New York German-American Peace Society, Dr. Edward H. Magill of New York, the Burritt Memorial Committee and the Central Union of New Britain, Conn., President Alfred H. Love of the Universal Peace Union of Philadelphia, President David Starr Jordan of Leland Stanford University, Mrs. Maria Freeman Gray of San Francisco, Hon. Richard Bartholdt of St. Louis, Dr. W. Evans Darby, Sir Thomas Barclay and George H. Perris of London, Hon. John Lund of Norway, Professor Eickof, secretary of the German group of the Interparliamentary Union, and many other noted leaders in the peace cause. The legations of Austria, France and Italy at Munich all sent salutations. The city of Milan, which had distinguished itself above all other cities by sending a delegate to the Congress in the person of Signor Moneta, one of its eminent citizens, sent a message of considerable length. Cardinal Papal State-Secretary Merry del Val of Rome expressed his warm interest in the success of the gathering. Mr. William T. Stead, whom the Congress had voted a resolution of appreciation for his work at The Hague, returned a characteristic telegram, which read: "Many thanks. Demand peace budget and support world pilgrimage of peace."



## PUBLIC MEETINGS AND BANQUETS

Several public meetings were held during the week in order to interest the people of Munich in the peace movement. One of these took up the movement in its relation to social questions, another in its relation to public education, while another dealt with the position of women in the movement. Among the English-speaking delegates who addressed these meetings were Dr. Clark and Mr. and Mrs. Mead.

The largest public meeting was held on Tuesday evening in the Munich "Kindl-Keller," a famous restaurant hall which seats five thousand people at refreshment tables, all of which were filled that night. This meeting was remarkable for the democratic character of the audience, many of whom were working people, and by the quiet, earnest attention given to the speakers. The topic, as announced in the order of the day, was "The Peace Movement: Its Aims, Means and Results," which gave an opportunity to present peace ideas from various points of view. Professor Quidde presided, and, after a few words of greeting, introduced Senator La Fontaine of Belgium, who spoke on the work already done and likely to be done in the future by the Hague Conference. Professor Heilberg spoke on the economic side of the peace movement and discussed the relative value to society of money spent on war and on public improvements, especially education. The Baroness von Suttner, Frederick Passy, Felix Moscheles, Gaston Moch, Professor Ezalkay, Mr. Novikow and Signor Moneta held the meeting until midnight, when Professor Quidde brought it to a close. There was therefore no question but that the principles of peace were fully and eloquently laid before the citizens of Munich.

On Wednesday evening two hundred and fifty delegates attended a festal banquet at the Hotel of the Four Seasons, as guests of the city of Munich. The occasion will be remembered for the generosity of the municipality. Several officials of the city were present to emphasize their interest in the cause. Professor Harburger acted as toastmaster. The speaking took place not at the end of the banquet, as is our custom in America, but between the courses, and lasted until nearly midnight. Dr. Clark, State Councilor Böhm, the Baroness von Suttner and Professor Quidde all spoke. Professor Dutton responded for the English-speaking delegates in a speech full of gratitude for the courtesies which had been shown them by Munich. He paid a tribute to the culture of the city. Healths were drunk and "Hochs," or cheers, given to the name of the Emperor and to popular leaders of the peace movement who were in attendance.

On Saturday afternoon a farewell banquet was held at the hotel, which, though attended by fewer delegates than were at the first, as many of them had by that time left for home, was notable for the feeling of comradeship which the associations of the week had developed. The speeches were mostly given up to thanks and to mutual appreciations. Professor and Mrs. Quidde were presented with a large silver flower dish as a testimonial of gratitude for their devotion to the welfare of the Congress. One of the most graceful responses made at this banquet was that of Mrs. Harburger, of the local committee, who addressed the guests in French. Dr. Trueblood, on behalf of the American delegates, in a warm tribute of fra-

ternal regard for the hosts, assured them of the kind feelings which Americans entertain towards Germany as a nation. He said that a war between the United States and Germany would be regarded by us as one of the most deplorable things that ever could happen, but, fortunately, in our present state of international friendship, war between us could not happen. We hope that these feelings of goodwill may always continue. No other speech made at the Congress took up our relations with Germany, and in view of the rumors and suspicions that in the past have suggested the possibility of a clash between our two countries, its hearty expression of friendship was most reassuring to the Germans present, as was shown at its conclusion, when they broke into loud applause.

## THE EXCURSION.

The social event that will probably be remembered longest and pleasanter, however, was an excursion, in German an "Ausflug," which on Thursday was given the Congress, to the Chiemsee, a beautiful lake about an hour's ride from Munich. Nearly every one went. The Bavarian government, by an unusual dispensation, considering the strictness of its railway management, put at the disposal of the Congress two special trains, one of which was made up of dining cars, for the convenience of members who chose to remain to the end of the morning session. The party got off at a little station called Prien, where fifty or a hundred school children, headed by a band, were drawn up in two lines to greet them. From here they went by another railway to Stock, where they took a steamer for Herren Insel (Gentlemen's Island). Here, as guests, they visited by special permission a magnificent palace which was built some years ago by the late King of Bavaria, who, if the legend is true, sought in it consolation for his disappointment in his romantic attachment to his Austrian cousin. The palace is an imitation of that at Versailles. It contains paintings, statuary, and elaborate mural decorations. One of its great halls, in which state receptions might be held, is lined with mirrors and illuminated with thousands of candles arranged in gilt chandeliers. The bedrooms, dining-room, and other living rooms of the palace are furnished in gorgeous designs, in which gilt is more freely used than any other color. The palace is used now as a museum and is visited every year by thousands of tourists, who are attracted to it by curiosity.

Returning from this island, the party were given coffee, rolls and cakes on tables spread out of doors in front of a hotel by the lakeside. Here they were entertained by mountaineers, dressed as Tyrolean peasants, who danced and "yodeled" for them on an improvised platform. Several of the men among the dancers, as they concluded their part of a number, turned somersaults for the amusement of the spectators. All the time the excursionists were in full view of the mirror-like lake, overtopped by the Tyrolean Alps, beautiful mountains, rugged and high, but softened by the hazy atmosphere of the sunset into exquisite gentleness and repose.

The members of the Congress were photographed here in a large group. They returned to the city in time to attend a performance of Robert Reinert's play, "War," which was given for their benefit in one of the principal theatres of the city. Golden-hearted Munich could not have done more for the advocates of peace.